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# Jubilees and Hellenistic Encyclopaedism

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## Abstract

The final form of the book of Jubilees is commonly dated to the Hellenistic period. It may come as no surprise, therefore, that various parallels between Jubilees and Greek scholarship have been discovered. Yet scholars remain divided on Jubilees' attitude towards Greek culture. In this article, I argue that Jubilees is fully conversant with global intellectual developments in the Hellenistic period and exhibits a type of encyclopaedic rhetoric similar to non-Jewish scholarly writings from this period. At the same time, Jubilees exhibits a local outlook, as it emphasises the timelessness and distinctiveness of the Jewish nation and its laws. Hence, the book must be understood as a "glocal" work, in which global and local trends merge and are intricately intertwined.

## Keywords

Jubilees – encyclopaedism – Hellenistic scholarship – glocalisation

The book of Jubilees, commonly dated in its final form<sup>1</sup> to the second century BCE,<sup>2</sup> is a product of the Hellenistic age. It may come as no surprise, therefore,

- 1 On the literary development of Jubilees see most elaborately Segal, *Jubilees*; also Kugel, *Walk Through*. The Qumran Jubilees fragments often play a central role in the discussion on the book's literary history. On these fragments see Monger, "Development of Jubilees 1"; also the contributions to *Revue de Qumrân* 26/104 (2014), a thematic issue on "Composition, Rewriting and Reception of the book of Jubilees." I will leave aside the issue of Jubilees' literary history in this article, as it bears little relevance for my argument. For the same reason, I will speak of the "author" of Jubilees in the singular for clarity's sake, without wishing to suggest that the book is a one-author work. If the realisation that Jubilees is composed of various sources does anything for my discussion, it supports my argument that Jubilees is a bookish production that takes up previous written texts.
- 2 On the dating of the book see Segal, *Jubilees*, 35-41 (with references), 319-22. Segal differs from previous research in that he reckons with a redactional layer in Jubilees. This layer he dates

that parallels between Jubilees and Greek geographical,<sup>3</sup> astronomical,<sup>4</sup> and physiognomic<sup>5</sup> knowledge have been discovered. Yet scholars are divided on the import of these parallels. A brief comparison between Philip Alexander's and Cana Werman's views on the topic will illustrate this. For Alexander, Jubilees' indebtedness to Greek geography shows that "the author of Jubilees could read Greek and had studied the Greek geographical literature."<sup>6</sup> Thus, Jubilees' author would have been "open and receptive to such alien knowledge and envisaged no fundamental clash between it and the truth of the Bible."<sup>7</sup> Werman arrives at the opposite conclusion. Recognising Jubilees' indebtedness to Greek knowledge, she argues that its author engages in a complex intercultural argument, whereby "*Jubilees* utilized its familiarity with Hellenizing trends in order to rebut them" and "used Hellenistic science to combat Hellenism."<sup>8</sup>

In this article I argue that Jubilees' incorporation of Greek knowledge does not reflect an initial distinction between "Greek" and "Jewish" traditions, which the author of Jubilees either harmonised or considered mutually exclusive. Using the concept of encyclopaedism, I hold that Jubilees' presentation of its contents is conversant with global intellectual trends in the Hellenistic period. At the same time, Jubilees develops an explicitly local outlook, as it presents the Jewish people and its laws as customs as distinct from all other nations from even before the world was created.<sup>9</sup> The result can be understood, with a recourse to theories of globalisation, as a glocal work, in which global and local trends are intricately intertwined and mutually dependent.

## 1 Encyclopaedism

In their 2013 volume *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Jason König and Greg Woolf introduce the concept of "encyclopaedism" to analyse the rhetoric of comprehensiveness and order in writings from

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to the Hellenistic or Early Roman periods and he associates it with the Essenes. Segal is "unable to suggest a date for the composition of the various passages which do not belong to the redactional layer" (320).

3 Alexander, "Imago Mundi"; Alexander, "*Omphalos*"; Berthelot, "Casting Lots."

4 Ben-Dov, "Time and Identity."

5 Strong, "Aristotle."

6 Alexander, "Imago Mundi," 211.

7 Alexander, 210-11.

8 Werman, "Hellenistic Context," 135, 141. See more elaborately on Jubilees' attitude towards Hellenism, Werman, *Jubilees*, 32-37.

9 See Charles, *Jubilees*, li-lvi; Segal, *Jubilees*, 273-324; Kugel, *Walk Through*, 5-9.

pre-Enlightenment periods. Their volume reacts to previous work on the history of encyclopaedias, which has long concentrated on the Enlightenment, as it was in this period that “encyclopaedia” was first used as a title for a comprehensive knowledge-ordering work.<sup>10</sup> In König and Woolf’s estimation, this concentration on the 18th century runs the risk of neglecting expressions of “the much broader phenomenon we refer to as encyclopaedism” in pre-Enlightenment writings—even if these writings cannot be classified as encyclopaedias.<sup>11</sup> Rather than a generic approach that concentrates on encyclopaedias as its object of study, König and Woolf develop an approach to encyclopaedism as the creation of an aura of comprehensiveness and order for particular writings. In their words:

We are interested ... in the ways in which a series of different authors (primarily located within western, European culture) made use of a range of shared rhetorical and compilatory techniques to create knowledge-ordering works of different kinds, works that often claimed some kind of comprehensive and definitive status. And we think in terms of an encyclopaedic spectrum, with different texts drawing on shared encyclopaedic markers to different degrees and for very different purposes.<sup>12</sup>

This quotation shows that, for König and Woolf, encyclopaedism does not primarily concern the contents of particular writings, but the ways in which these writings present their contents. Even if these aspects cannot be neatly separated, encyclopaedism draws attention to how certain literary works were written rather than what exactly they seek to communicate. Thus, the notion of encyclopaedism can help to explicate the broad structures of intellectual and scholarly culture in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In these eras, knowledge was increasingly gained by collecting and appropriating earlier works. As a result, works of Hellenistic and Roman scholarship often express their indebtedness to previous authors and writings. This does not mean that overlapping *content* between Jubilees and Greek works of scholarship is absent; the notion in Jubilees that Enoch “wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months” (4:17) brings to mind the writing of astronomical compilations by Greek scholars, and the chain of written

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10 On Enlightenment encyclopaedias see Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions*; Rudy, *Literature and Encyclopedism*. On the intellectual climate in the 18th century see also Donald and O’Gorman, *Ordering the World* (which has two essays on encyclopaedias).

11 König and Woolf, “Introduction,” 1.

12 König and Woolf, 1.

tradition to which Jubilees claims to be indebted fits in with passages in other writings from the Hellenistic period where the contents of the writing are attributed to a reliable transmission of written sources. In this essay, however, I am less interested in these parallels in contents. Instead, I aim to demonstrate that Jubilees accrues authority for itself by creating an aura of comprehensiveness. By so doing, Jubilees exhibits an encyclopaedic ideal which was widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Furthermore, encyclopaedism refers to a rhetoric that revolves around comprehensiveness and order.<sup>13</sup> This rhetoric can take two basic (and not mutually exclusive) directions. First, an encyclopaedic writing can claim to contain as much knowledge as possible on a single topic or theme. This claim goes hand in hand with claims to bring together earlier source material and so is closely related to the emergence of a book culture. Basing themselves on Aristotle's works, for instance, Aristophanes of Byzantium wrote on animals and Theophrastus on plants.<sup>14</sup> Another popular theme in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was "marvellous things" (*thaumata*), which were collected on the basis of earlier writings in paradoxographical collections such as Callimachus's *Collection of marvels in all the earth according to localities*, or featured as part of larger narrative unities in geographical works, travel narratives, or novels.<sup>15</sup> Finally, individuals such as Berossus and Manetho wrote encyclopaedic treatments of the history of a particular people.<sup>16</sup> The encyclopaedism of Jubilees seems to resemble that of Berossus and Manetho, as the book concentrates on Jewish history, attributes its contents to a long-standing yet reliable transmission of written sources going back to Enoch, and defines its scope as "what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come" (1:4). To paraphrase Hatzimichali's comment on Manetho,<sup>17</sup> Jubilees brings together and organises Jewish history into a coherent and expansive whole, constructing a continuous narrative out of the Pentateuch, the heavenly tablets, and the written tradition going back to Enoch.

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13 Cf. North, "Encyclopaedias."

14 On Aristophanes, Theophrastus, and other natural scientists in the Hellenistic world see French, *Ancient Natural History*, esp. 68-92 (on Theophrastus), 209-48 (on the study of animals).

15 See Whitmarsh, "Prose Fiction," 400; Dueck, *Geography*, 64-67.

16 On Manetho as an encyclopaedic writer see Hatzimichali, "Encyclopaedism," 66, who writes that Manetho "proceeded to bring together and organise ancient Egyptian history into a coherent and expansive whole, constructing a continuous narrative out of collected historical records that had consisted primarily of chronological tables and lists of kings' names."

17 See the preceding note.

Second, an encyclopaedic writing can claim to provide knowledge about as many topics as possible. Related with the rise of encyclopaedism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is the rise of the library. Callimachus's *Pinakes*, by evoking the image of the library, represents an attempt to present the whole of Greek knowledge in an orderly fashion. In the Roman period, Pliny's *Natural History* aspired to describe the world in its totality.<sup>18</sup> On a more modest scale, Jubilees' references to various kinds of knowledge—astronomical, scribal, geographical, medicinal, agricultural—adds to the aura of comprehensiveness the book claims for itself. These examples show that selections of knowledge and claims to comprehensiveness are never neutral—not in the ancient world and not today.<sup>19</sup> Callimachus's claim to offer a comprehensive overview of Greek learning served the political claims of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Presenting itself as a catalogue of the Alexandrian Library and Museum—institutions lavishly sponsored by the Ptolemies<sup>20</sup>—the *Pinakes* bolsters the image of the Ptolemaic kings as guardians of Greek culture and, by implication, their legitimacy as rulers. Similarly, Pliny's *Natural History* may claim to describe the world in its totality, but presents its readers, as Sorcha Carey has pointed out, with a "Roman totality." Pliny debunks Greek scholarship and alters his sources so as to make them tie in with his Roman nationalist agenda.<sup>21</sup> In Jubilees, claims to comprehensiveness support the overall argument of the work that the Jewish people should live in accordance with the full knowledge revealed by various means to Moses.

### 1.1 *Encyclopaedism in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*

Encyclopaedism flourished in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There are two related reasons for this. To begin with, the emergence of large empires that housed a host of different cultures and traditions triggered the development of a translocal mindset among the intellectual elites in these empires.<sup>22</sup> As these elites grew increasingly aware of the existence of other cultures and traditions, the scope of their intellectual endeavours expanded. This altered

18 On the encyclopaedic character of the *Natural History* see Rubincam, "Organisation of Material."

19 For a recent example see Schroeder, "Encyclopaedic Knowledge," who criticises the encyclopaedia under review for its "scathing condemnation of Bill Clinton's whole personal and political record, ringing endorsement of George W. Bush's, and the assessment of the long-range world-historical consequences of 11 September 2001 and the Bush Doctrine" (879).

20 See Erskine, "Culture and Power"; Hartog, "Textual Fixity and Fluidity."

21 Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture*, 17-40. See also Murphy, *Natural History*.

22 On translocality and globalisation in the Roman period see Pitts and Versluys, *Globalization*; also Whitmarsh, *Local Knowledge*.

worldview found expression in the rise of encyclopaedism and the desire to collect comprehensive knowledge in one place.<sup>23</sup> As a result, encyclopaedic writings often exhibit a close connection with the political views held by their authors.

Second, the Hellenistic kings lavishly sponsored institutions of Greek scholarship. This was not an act of generosity: by promoting the study of the Greek literary heritage, the Ptolemies sought to depict themselves as guardians of “Greekness” and valid rulers of the Greek world they had inherited from Alexander. The study of pre-Hellenistic Greek authors and the research by scholars in these court-sponsored institutions triggered the writing of encyclopaedic reference works.<sup>24</sup> Treatises on a wide range of topics saw the light in the Hellenistic period. We have already encountered Aristophanes’s work on animals and Theophrastus’s on plants; other examples are Callimachus’s work on *Non-Greek Customs*, Eratosthenes’s *Chronological Tables*,<sup>25</sup> Euclid’s *Elements*, [pseudo]-Dionysius Thrax’s *Art of Grammar*, and Artemidorus’s *Oneirocritica*.<sup>26</sup> Hipparchus wrote treatises on mathematics and geography, as well as a famous catalogue of stars, which provided the starting point for Claudius Ptolemy’s *Almagest*.<sup>27</sup> Systematic lexicography and glossography also find their cradle in the Hellenistic period.<sup>28</sup> Dictionaries or glossographical treatises on specific works (e.g., Homer, Hippocrates) saw the light, and this tradition of glossographical exegesis found its way into later scholia collections.<sup>29</sup> Finally, large-scale commentaries emerged as a distinct genre of scholarship in the Alexandrian Museum and Library. Starting with Aristarchus, scholars working on Homer and other Greek classics composed commentaries, in which they

23 Encyclopaedism is only one expression of this translocal view of the world. Another expression is the popularity of travel narratives in Hellenistic and Roman times. On translocality and globalisation in travel narratives see Hartog, “Contesting *Oikoumene*.”

24 On this “mode of compilation” for writing literature in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see König, *Greek Literature*, 66-68 (“Prestige of Compilation”). Cf. also Nünlist’s assessment that “the difference [in the uses of literature] in Hellenistic times is ... more one of degree than kind, in that both the number of ... monographs and the specialization of their topics grew noticeably” (“Users of Literature,” 303 [and see the discussion on 301-7]).

25 Examples taken from Schironi, “Scholarship, Hellenistic,” 4.

26 On these latter two examples see Morgan, “Encyclopaedias of Virtue?”; Harris-McCoy, “*Oneirocritica*.”

27 On Hipparchus and Ptolemy’s *Almagest* see Russo, *Forgotten Revolution*, esp. 284-86.

28 This is not to say that glossography emerged only in the Hellenistic period. On pre-Hellenistic glossography see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 3-56.

29 For a short survey of Hellenistic glossography/lexicography and the edition of a glossary preserved among the Oxyrhynchus papyri see Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon*. For some examples of glossographical interpretation of Homer see Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 113-16.

discussed a highly variegated range of topics, including grammar, style, and textual transmission, but also more eccentric issues regarding the particular contents of their base texts.<sup>30</sup> Technical and scientific commentaries also saw the light: Hipparchus wrote a commentary on Eudoxus and Aratus's work, and Galen, in his turn, commented on Hipparchus (and other authors).<sup>31</sup> Taken together, these various forms of Greek scholarship in the Hellenistic and Roman periods testify to the increasingly encyclopaedic character of scholarly engagements with the Greek literary heritage in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

### 1.2 *Encyclopaedism and Book Culture*

The "encyclopaedic turn" in Greek scholarship in the Hellenistic period is closely related with the emergence of a book world. Concentrating on the Roman period, König and Woolf write that the increasing availability of books confronted readers with a daunting array of knowledge and literature. Against this backdrop, "encyclopaedism may be seen as one among a number of strategies formed in reaction to the growth in the number of texts and the ensuing struggles for authority."<sup>32</sup> The workings of this strategy are evident in the writings adduced above: commentaries, treatises, compendia, dictionaries, and other reference works all base themselves on preceding writings, whose contents they bring together and order according to an overarching scheme.

Yet encyclopaedism is not merely a *reaction* to the emergence of a book world; it also *promotes* books as loci of knowledge.<sup>33</sup> As scholarship in the Hellenistic and Roman periods assumed an increasingly meta-textual shape, books became a key locus for knowledge. Thus, claims to go back to prestigious books, book collections, or a continuous chain of written sources became an important way for writers in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to accrue

30 On this type of commentary writing see Trojahn, *Kommentare zur Alten Komödie*; Schironi, "Greek Commentaries"; Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*.

31 On this tradition of scientific commentary writing see, e.g., Andorlini, "L'esegesi del libro tecnico"; Schironi, "Greek Commentaries," 429-32.

32 König and Woolf, "Encyclopaedism in the Roman Empire," 35.

33 Hence, an important symbol of encyclopaedism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was the library. Space prevents an elaborate discussion, but some of the significance of this symbolism can be gauged by considering the titles of writings such as Diodorus Siculus's *Library of History* or Pseudo-Apollodorus's *Library*; the set-up of Callimachus's *Pinakes*; or the portrayal of individuals such as Longinus (*ap. Eunapius, Lives of the Sophists* 456) or Aristophanes of Byzantium (*ap. Vitruvius, On architecture*, preface to book 7) as walking libraries. See more extensively on library symbolism Too, *Idea of the Library*. On libraries in the Hellenistic and Roman world see also Houston, *Roman Libraries*; White Crawford and Wassén, *Concept of a Library*.



authority for themselves and their work.<sup>34</sup> P.Oxy. 2.221v offers an example of this procedure.<sup>35</sup> Known for its broad outlook (it cites both Alexandrian and Pergamene critics), this commentary quotes a host of different scholars, editions, and reference works, some of them unattested elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> By evoking these different sources, the commentators of P.Oxy. 2.221v write themselves into a written tradition of scholarship and so accrue authority for their own findings. In similar vein, the author of 2 Maccabees, in 2 Macc 2, claims that his account of events in the Persian period goes back to “annals” (ἀπογραφὴ, γράφη; 2:1-4) from that period and finds a parallel in Nehemiah’s “registers” (ἀναγραφὴ; 2:13) and “decrees” (ὑπομνηματισμός; 2:13). In those same registers and decrees, the author of 2 Maccabees adds, we can read that Nehemiah compiled a library containing “the books of kings, of prophets, and of David, as well as letters by the kings on votive offerings” (2:13). During the Maccabean war, Judas took hold of Nehemiah’s library and it is now in the hands of the Maccabees (2:14). By so ascribing the contents of his work to Persian annals and by inventing a tradition of Nehemiah’s library being transmitted to the Maccabees, the author of Maccabees shows himself to be an inhabitant of the Hellenistic book world, in which books and book collections are central loci of knowledge. These examples are illustrative of a larger trend: as they both react to and promote the increasing importance of books as transmitters of knowledge, encyclopaedic writings tend to present themselves as bringing together and ordering information derived from previous books or book collections. The book of Jubilees, as we shall see, fits this trend, as it ascribes its contents to two written traditions: the Pentateuch and a continuous written tradition instigated by Enoch.

## 2 Encyclopaedism in Jubilees

The book of Jubilees retells Genesis and the first part of Exodus, presenting itself as a written account of knowledge revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai (Jub. 1:1-11). Jubilees’ presentation of its scope and contents displays similarities with the encyclopaedic rhetoric found in other writings from the Hellenistic period.

34 Cf. on this point my discussion of “references and quotations” in *Iliad* hypomnemata and the Qumran pesharim in *Peshar and Hypomnema*, 116-28, 151-65.

35 P.Oxy. 2.221v is a second-century CE manuscript that preserves a first-century CE commentary on *Il.* 21. On the date of the commentary see Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2, 53.

36 On the broad range of scholars and views cited in this hypomnema see Müller, *Papyruskommentar*, 23-48; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 118-19; Hartog, *Peshar and Hypomnema*, 117-21, 126-28.



I discuss three such similarities: (1) Jubilees' claim to present knowledge of the entire course of history; (2) Jubilees' inclusion of different kinds of knowledge; (3) Jubilees' bookish background. These aspects of Jubilees lead me to classify the book as an encyclopaedic writing and to argue that the ideas of its author on how knowledge can be gained and presented tie in with a broader encyclopaedic trend in the Hellenistic period.

My argument concentrates on the rhetoric of comprehensiveness Jubilees develops—i.e., with how Jubilees presents itself—rather than with the precise contents of the book. With regard to these contents, notable differences also exist between Jubilees and Greek encyclopaedic works. To begin with, Jubilees claims to preserve full knowledge not only of the entire course of history up to his own days (or, to remain within the narrative world of the text, up to the revelation on Mount Sinai), but of “what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come” (1:4; 4:19). In that respect Jubilees differs from other encyclopaedic histories, which record history up to their own times. Second, Jubilees defines divine revelation as the source for its contents. Both Enoch and Moses—the founding figures of the information Jubilees claims to contain—obtain their knowledge not by critical thinking or observation, but by divine revelation (1:4; 4:19). This stands in contrast to compilations of mathematical, biological, or astronomical knowledge, such as Euclid's, Theophrastus's, or Hippocrates's works. Yet in spite of these differences, I claim that Jubilees' presentation of its material resembles that of other, non-Jewish, encyclopaedic writings from the Hellenistic period.

### 2.1 *The Scope of Jubilees*

In the Prologue and the first chapter—which serve as a framework for the rest of the book<sup>37</sup>—Jubilees claims a comprehensive scope for itself. According to Jub. 1:4-5,<sup>38</sup> God revealed to Moses

what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come. He related to him the divisions of all the times—both of the law and of the testimony. He said to him: “Pay attention to all the words which I tell you on this mountain. Write (them) in a book so that their offspring may see that I have not abandoned them because of all the evil they have done in straying from the covenant between me and you which I am making today on Mt. Sinai for their offspring.”<sup>39</sup>

37 VanderKam, “Moses Trumping Moses.”

38 For similar claims see the Prologue and Jub. 1:7, 26-29.

39 Translations follow VanderKam, *Jubilees*.

The phrase “law and testimony”—whatever its precise connotation<sup>40</sup>—can be equated with the contents of the book of Jubilees.<sup>41</sup> On Mount Sinai, therefore, God showed to Moses “a comprehensive history, from first to second creation”<sup>42</sup> and ordered him to record it in writing. The result is the book of Jubilees.

This divine revelation to Moses was not a direct one. From Jub. 1:27-29 and other passages we learn that the contents of Jubilees were dictated to Moses<sup>43</sup> by the Angel of the Presence. The angel did so by reading out to Moses “the tablets (which told) of the divisions of the years from the time the law and the testimony were created” (1:29). These tablets—which are the same as the “heavenly tablets” that feature elsewhere in Jubilees—grant a sense of order to Jubilees’ account. Fulfilling different purposes in different contexts,<sup>44</sup> the heavenly tablets in Jubilees express the belief that the history, election, and laws and customs of Israel resulted not from particular historical developments, but had been engraved in the heavenly record even before the world was created.<sup>45</sup> What Jubilees has on offer, therefore, is not merely a divine revelation bestowed at one point on Moses at Mount Sinai, but a written account of the divine blueprint of the whole of history.

Jubilees’ claims to order and comprehensiveness do not imply that the book replaces earlier revelations. Rather, the book of Jubilees acknowledges the existence of other written sources, which like Jubilees present insights into the divine plan of history. The most prominent one is the Pentateuch, part of which the book of Jubilees rewrites and expands.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, Jubilees acknowledges an Enochic-Levitical tradition of books that has been transmitted faithfully to Moses.

40 The meaning of the phrase has spawned much scholarly debate. Segal suggests that “law and testimony” refers to the stipulations of God’s covenant with Israel, which according to Jubilees had existed from the beginning of time. See Segal, *Jubilees*, 282-301.

41 See Werman, “תעודה and תורה,” 77-81.

42 VanderKam, “Moses Trumping Moses,” 27.

43 On the Angel of the Presence dictating the book of Jubilees to Moses (in spite of certain passages, including Jub. 1:27 [Ethiopic text], claiming that the angel “wrote” the book himself) see VanderKam, “Putative Author.” VanderKam’s suggestion has now been confirmed by a Qumran fragment of Jubilees (4Q216 4:6); see VanderKam and Milik, “216. 4QJubilees<sup>a</sup>,” 11-12.

44 García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets.”

45 Cf. VanderKam, who speaks of the heavenly tablets as “a written, unchangeable, permanent depository of information under God’s control” (“Moses Trumping Moses,” 32).

46 On processes of rewriting in Jubilees see van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*; van Ruiten, *Abraham*.

## 2.2 *Jubilees as a Compilation of Knowledge*

In addition to its claim to offer comprehensive knowledge of the divine blueprint of history, Jubilees presents itself as a compilation of various kinds of knowledge. These different types of knowledge are often attributed to culture heroes such as Enoch, Noah, or Abraham. By attributing particular kinds of knowledge to individuals from the distant past (to whom they were revealed by God) Jubilees presented these various kinds of knowledge as ancient and trustworthy.<sup>47</sup>

In Jub. 4:16-20, Jubilees recounts how Enoch was the first human being to receive astronomical knowledge:

Enoch ... was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months. He was the first to write a testimony. He testified to mankind in the generations of the earth: The weeks of the jubilees he related, and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him. While he slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur—how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood.

This passage takes up earlier Enochic traditions, which portray Enoch as having laid eyes on the heavenly tablets and so having received insight in the course of history (cf. 1 En. 81:1-4). Jubilees incorporates this tradition within its overall Mosaic framework by portraying Moses rather than Enoch as knowledgeable of the contents of the heavenly tablets.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, Jubilees accepts the idea that Enoch was granted insight into the course of history (4:19). Moreover, Enoch was the first to learn astronomy and, almost like a Jewish Hipparchus,

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47 On culture heroes in Jubilees see Werman, "Hellenistic Context," 143-46, 150-51. Werman suggests that these culture heroes serve to appropriate Greek wisdom for Judaism, but at the same time calls for caution not to make too much of them, as she writes that "it can ... be argued that *Jubilees'* familiarity with this concept is not necessarily an outgrowth of acquaintance with Hellenism, but rather a reflection of the culture heroes that appear in the book of Genesis" (150). On culture heroes in other writings from the Hellenistic and Roman period see Sulimani, *Diodorus' Mythistory*, 229-306 (on Diodorus's *Bibliothēke*); Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, esp. 30-31 (on Jewish diaspora literature).

48 On the use of Enochic sources in Jubilees see Dimant, "Enoch"; VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions."

to produce an account of “the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months” (4:17). This Enochic knowledge receives “Mosaic confirmation” in the book of Jubilees,<sup>49</sup> as it stresses the correct times for celebrating festivals and promotes the solar calendar as the only ordering of time corresponding to God’s plan and being engraved on the heavenly tablets.

This same passage paints Enoch as the first human being “who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom” (4:17). The latter two terms appear to refer in a general sense to Enoch’s portrayal as an encyclopaedic ideal and parallel the statement in 1 En. 81:2 that Enoch “learned everything.”<sup>50</sup> The idea that Enoch learned writing finds parallels in the Enochic literature as well, but has special relevance in the context of Jubilees. As the first writer Enoch instigates a written tradition that continued until Moses’s time. Furthermore, the depiction of Enoch as a writer draws an intimate connection between divine revelation and writing. This link recurs throughout Jubilees: when individuals receive a divine revelation, they often record it in writing.<sup>51</sup> This act of writing symbolises the truth and immutability of the divine revelation.<sup>52</sup> What is more, the close connection between writing and divine revelation lends credence to Jubilees itself, as it claims to constitute a Sinaitic revelation but in many instances entails a rewriting of earlier sources.

Aside from astronomy and textual scholarship connected with the figure of Enoch, Jubilees claims to contain geographical knowledge going back to Noah. The dependence of Jubilees’ portrayal of the division of the earth amongst Noah’s sons (Jub. 8:10-9:15) on the Ionic *mappa mundi* has long been observed.<sup>53</sup> The correspondences between Jubilees’ account and Hellenistic geography are so close that several scholars have surmised that the author of Jub. 8:10-9:15 must have had a written exemplar of the Ionic map at his disposal. However, Jubilees does not tacitly adopt this Hellenistic geographical outlook, but presents it as deriving from “the book” which Noah’s sons took “from the bosom of their father” (8:11). By so attributing this geographical knowledge to a Jewish culture hero, Jubilees appropriates this knowledge for Judaism.

Finally, Jubilees attributes medicinal and agricultural knowledge to Jewish culture heroes. Jubilees 10 tells how Noah’s children and grandchildren are afflicted by demons. Desperate, they turn to Noah, who prays to God. In reaction

49 This phrase is Blenkinsopp’s (*Creation*, 117).

50 Trans. Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, 333.

51 So in Jub. 1:4-5, 7, 26; 2:1; 4:17-18, 21-22; 10:10-14, 23:32; 32:20-26; 33:18. On revelation and writing in Jubilees see Najman, “Reconsidering *Jubilees*,” 197-99.

52 Cf. Najman, “Primordial Writing,” 41-49.

53 See the literature in note 3 above. Contrast Scott, *Geography*, 23-43, who accepts Jubilees’ attribution of the knowledge contained in Jub. 8-9 to a “book of Noah.”

to Noah's prayer God commands his angels to teach Noah "all the medicines for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure (them) by means of the earth's plants" (10:12). Noah records this knowledge in writing and so makes it available to all future generations (10:13).<sup>54</sup> In Jub. 11:23-24, Abraham is portrayed as an agricultural innovator. Confronted with ravens that steal away the seed sown by his family members (11:18-22), Abraham invents a sowing implement which directly inserts the seed into the point of the plough, so that the ravens can no longer reach it.

The result of Jubilees' attribution of these various kinds of knowledge to Jewish culture heroes is that the book comes to serve as a compilation of different types of knowledge. All these different types of knowledge, Jubilees claims, have been transmitted to Moses (though not all in the same way<sup>55</sup>), who incorporated them as he wrote the book of Jubilees.

### 2.3 *Book Culture in Jubilees*

The flourishing of encyclopaedism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is bound up with the book world that emerged in these periods. As indicated above, this link worked in two directions: the increasing availability of knowledge in written form stimulated the compilation of increasingly comprehensive surveys, whilst the interest in comprehensive knowledge shared by intellectuals in these periods triggered the production of books. The book of Jubilees testifies to this dynamic. By explicitly acknowledging its indebtedness to written sources and emphasising its own writtleness, Jubilees is evidently the product of a bookish environment.<sup>56</sup>

As Jubilees rewrites Genesis and parts of Exodus, the book simultaneously emphasises the Pentateuch's validity and significance by presenting it as divine revelation written by God himself (Jub. 1:1). In Jubilees' self-understanding,

54 This passage exhibits parallels with the medieval medical work *Sefer Refuot* or the book of Asaph. On these parallels and their possible connection see Himmelfarb, "Echoes of Jubilees."

55 Abraham's innovation had not been written down and so reached Moses via the Angel of the Presence. Enoch and Noah, in contrast, wrote their discoveries down, and they reached Moses via the Enochic-Levitical transmission of written books that Jubilees acknowledges.

56 On Jubilees' indebtedness to earlier traditions cf. Charles, *Jubilees*, xlv-xlvii; Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees*, 207-26. See also Najman, "Primordial Writing," 41-49 on "Jubilees' Fascination with Writing." On the sources to which the author of Jubilees had recourse when he composed the book (which need not be the same sources that he acknowledges in his work) see Werman, *Jubilees*, 14-30.

the Pentateuch is as much a record of divine revelation as Jubilees itself.<sup>57</sup> It is just not complete, as Jubilees posits a two-fold Sinaitic revelation.<sup>58</sup> Thus, only when complemented by Jubilees will the Pentateuch be able to provide full knowledge of God's plan in history. As Hindy Najman has underscored, Jubilees' stress on the authority of the Pentateuch as divine revelation and its close alignment with the words of Genesis and Exodus bolsters Jubilees' own claim to contain divine insights, derived from the heavenly tablets.<sup>59</sup> Hence, the link Jubilees envisions between itself and the Pentateuch is inevitable: the Pentateuch reveals its secrets only when consulted in tandem with Jubilees, whilst Jubilees cannot be understood to the full in isolation from the Pentateuch.

A second tradition of written sources to which Jubilees is indebted, is that which originated with Enoch and gradually grew to contain other writings. In Jub. 4:16-20 (quoted above), Enoch is portrayed as the first writer, who leaves behind written testimonies of his wisdom. The tradition Enoch inaugurated continues with his offspring. In Jub. 21:10, Abraham tells Isaac: "This is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah." The association between Enoch and Noah in this passage shows that Noah, according to Jubilees, belongs to the tradition that had begun with Enoch. The transmission of this Enochic knowledge takes place in written form. From Jub. 8:11 we learn that Noah kept a book at his bosom; and Jub. 10:13-14 narrates how Noah writes down the medicinal knowledge he had received (see above) and gives all his books "to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons."

This Shemite line of transmission continues with Arpachshad, son of Shem, and presumably Cainan. The latter individual provides a contested case. Jubilees writes of Cainan:

When [Cainan] grew up, his father taught him (the art of) writing. He went to look for a place of his own where he could possess his own city. He found an inscription which the ancients had incised in a rock. He read what was in it, copied it, and sinned on the basis of what was in it, since

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57 This is evident from the fact that Jubilees attributes both new laws and pentateuchal laws to the heavenly tablets. Evidently, Jubilees and the Pentateuch stem from the same source. See Najman, "Primordial Writing," 50-61.

58 This idea may be an exegetical development of the two tablets Moses is portrayed as receiving in the pentateuchal narrative. Alternatively, the idea could go back to Exodus's portrayal of Moses ascending Mount Sinai twice (Exod 19-20 and 34). For the latter suggestion see Alexander, "Retelling," 101.

59 Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 41-69; also Najman, "Primordial Writing," 63-70.

in it was the Watchers' teaching by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign. He wrote (it) down but told no one about it because he was afraid to tell Noah about it lest he become angry at him about it.<sup>60</sup>

On the basis of this passage it has been argued that Cainan had accessed illicit knowledge, which contrasts with the God-given astronomical wisdom Enoch had received.<sup>61</sup> I would suggest, however, that Cainan's reading of an inscription on a rock (whereas other individuals are said to read books),<sup>62</sup> his sins, and his silence about what he read (which occur only in this passage) do not preclude him from being a chain in the transmission of Enochic knowledge. The expression "his father taught him (the art of) writing" (Jub. 8:2) serves as a recurrent refrain in the book of Jubilees, and in all other instances makes the son in question a chain in the written tradition of Enochic knowledge.<sup>63</sup> Second, Jubilees' description of what Cainan read ("the Watchers' teaching by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign") resembles both the knowledge it ascribes to Enoch ("the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months") and the contents of the books of Enoch. The fact that Cainan does not tell Noah about what he read might indicate that Jubilees sees some difference between Enochic and Noahide wisdom (cf. Abraham's references to "the words of Enoch and the words of Noah" in Jub. 21:10), even if the two eventually reached Moses together. Finally, the explicit claim that Cainan copied and wrote down what he had read shows that Cainan was involved in the written transmission of knowledge.<sup>64</sup> This passage, therefore, serves as a warning of the potential dan-

60 Jub. 8:2-4.

61 So Werman, *Jubilees*, 242: "The wisdom Cainan found, according to Jubilees, is forbidden wisdom, knowledge which is not to be passed on into the hands of mankind." Werman contrasts this wisdom with the wisdom Enoch receives in Jub. 4 and draws a connection between Nahor's acquaintance with Mesopotamian astrology/astronomy (Jub. 11:8). This portrayal of Cainan is related to the tradition, absent from Jubilees, that Cainan taught astrology to the Chaldeans and was revered by them as a god. On this tradition see Adler, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha," 60-61.

62 The precise reasons for this reference to a rock inscription remain unclear. Jan Bremmer points out to me (personal communication, d.d. 17 September, 2018) that the Greeks, in contrast to, e.g., the Persians or Indians, never wrote on rocks. See also his "Opening Address," 203-4. Perhaps the reference here serves to lend an exotic (or ancient) flavour to the Cainan episode.

63 See Jub. 11:16; 19:14; 47:9; and cf. Jub. 4:17; 11:8.

64 Cf. VanderKam's comment on Jub. 8:4: "Cedrenus' text has [Cainan] hiding the information from Noah but teaching others about it" (*Jubilees*, 51). Perhaps this is an attempt to account for the apparent end of the tradition with Cainan.



gers involved in astronomy and astrology, but it does seem to write Cainan into the transmission of Enochic wisdom to Moses.

The next chains in the transmission Jubilees acknowledges are Terah,<sup>65</sup> Abraham,<sup>66</sup> Isaac (who receives Abraham's oral rather than written instruction),<sup>67</sup> Jacob,<sup>68</sup> Levi (to whom Jacob leaves all his books),<sup>69</sup> and Amram.<sup>70</sup> In this way, this written tradition reached Moses (who was taught writing by Amram),<sup>71</sup> and so came to serve as one of the sources for the book of Jubilees. By claiming its indebtedness both to the revelation given to Moses on Mount Sinai and to this Enoch tradition, Jubilees presents itself as incorporating both Sinaitic and pre-Sinaitic knowledge. This self-presentation brings out Jubilees' special status.<sup>72</sup> The issue at stake is one of comprehensiveness: just as the Pentateuch cannot provide full knowledge unless it is complemented by Jubilees, so this pre-Sinaitic tradition of transmitted knowledge falls short of giving insight in God's entire plan. Only when supplemented by Jubilees will this Enochic-Levitical tradition be able to reveal its full truth. As we have seen, Jubilees makes the same argument for the Pentateuch. The implied message is that only Jubilees can count as a comprehensive disclosure of God's revelation to the Jewish people.

### 3 Jubilees and Hellenism

The book of Jubilees is comfortably at home within a Hellenistic intellectual milieu. In the presentation of its contents, Jubilees develops an encyclopaedic

65 Terah teaches Abraham writing (Jub. 11:16).

66 See the preceding note and cf. Jub. 21:10, where Abraham claims familiarity with "the words of Enoch and the words of Noah."

67 Abraham instructs Isaac in Jub. 21.

68 Jacob learns the art of writing (Jub. 19:14) and is given insight into "what would happen to him and his sons throughout all ages" (Jub. 32:21).

69 Jub. 45:15-16: "[Israel] slept with his fathers and was buried near his father Abraham in the double cave in the land of Canaan—in the grave which he had dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron. He gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today."

70 Amram teaches Moses writing (Jub. 47:9).

71 See the preceding note.

72 Note that this combination of Sinaitic and pre-Sinaitic revelation is also evident in Jubilees' dealings with halakha. One of the characteristics of the book is its inclusion of pentateuchal (i.e., Sinaitic) laws into narratives on the patriarchs. By so doing, the book aims to solve exegetical issues in its base text and to emphasise the timelessness of Jewish law, which in Jubilees' view had been engraved in the heavenly tablets and revealed to humankind at the time of creation. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 6-7.

rhetoric similar to that expressed in non-Jewish works from the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Yet at the same time, Jubilees exhibits a particularly local outlook. The book stresses the distinctiveness of the Jewish nation, customs, and festivals; replaces Delphi for Jerusalem as the navel of the earth;<sup>73</sup> and attributes the geographical plan of the earth to Noah rather than to Greek sources on which it was based (Jub. 8:11). Hence, for the author of Jubilees, the adoption of an intellectual framework that was widespread across the Hellenistic world did not prevent him from exhorting his readers to remain faithful to Jewish laws and customs, which he portrays as having been revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai.

The attention Jubilees pays to the history of the Jews until the Mount Sinai episode corresponds with a broader tendency in the literary production of many peoples in the Hellenistic period: an increased interest in their own past and heritage.<sup>74</sup> Elias Bickerman and Arnaldo Momigliano have shown how Jewish writers in this period began to write the history of Judaism using Greek categories of thought.<sup>75</sup> The best-known representatives of this tradition are Jewish authors writing in Greek, such as Artapanus or (Pseudo-)Eupolemus. Just as these authors, Jubilees fits in with the global intellectual context of the Hellenistic world and exhibits a Hellenistic scholarly ideal of comprehensiveness.

For Werman, the aims of the author of Jubilees and “Hellenistic Jewish” historiographers are strikingly different. Whereas Artapanus and his peers sought to harmonise Judaism and Greek culture, Jubilees, in Werman’s estimation, does the opposite by seeking “to erect a barrier between the Jewish people and a foreign (in his view, idolatrous) culture.”<sup>76</sup> It seems, however, that Werman is overstating the purpose of Jubilees. It is true that Jubilees points its readers to the distinctiveness of the Jewish nation and calls them to walk in the footsteps of their forefathers by observing Jewish laws and customs. But the author of Jubilees, unlike Artapanus and (Pseudo-)Eupolemus, never seems to engage in outright cultural competition. Jubilees never mentions the Greeks explicitly, nor refers to Greek writings, heroes, or knowledge. The book might refer to nude sporting in the gymnasium (3:31)<sup>77</sup> or reflect disputes over calendrical issues (6:32-35), but apart from that, Jubilees does not explicitly condemn (or even mention) Greek practices—and even in these two passages, the Greeks

73 See Alexander, “*Omphalos*.”

74 For a broad discussion of this aspect of the Hellenistic world see Hengel, “Schriftauslegung.”

75 Bickerman, “*Origines gentium*”; Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, esp. 92-95.

76 Werman, “Hellenistic Context,” 140.

77 For this interpretation see Charles, *Jubilees*, 50.

are subsumed under the broader category of “gentiles.” This suggests that the issue for Jubilees’ author was not the influence of Greek practices on Judaism per se. Rather, the book traces back the Jewish nation to the very beginning of history and so admonishes its readers to remain within the age-old Jewish tradition.

This lack of explicit interest in the Greeks on the part of the author of Jubilees (who incorporates Greek knowledge, but without acknowledging it) suggests that what we see at work in Jubilees is not merely a coming together of “Greek” and “Jewish” culture. Rather than a model that approaches these two cultures as initially separate entities (which were either brought into conflict with one another or harmonised), I therefore propose an understanding of Jubilees in which the two are intrinsically interconnected from the outset and cannot be clearly distinguished. Globalisation theories offer an excellent tool to develop such an understanding. Frequently applied in fields such as archaeology and ancient history, theories of globalisation understand cultural expressions as resulting from ongoing interactions between global and local trends. These global and local trends are mutually dependent: global trends can only take shape when they have a local backing, whereas local expressions always depend on the global context in which they appear. This process of interaction has been referred to by some as “glocalisation.”<sup>78</sup> This is a useful term, in my view, as it calls attention to the fact that global and local trends belong intrinsically together, whilst also indicating that something new emerges from global-local interactions: a “glocal” cultural expression, which combines global and local elements in new and creative ways. The book of Jubilees is such a glocal writing: it makes explicitly local claims, whilst reflecting the global intellectual context of the Hellenistic world.

This glocal understanding of Jubilees raises the question of its author’s intentions. Did the author of Jubilees consciously adopt Greek knowledge and adapt it to his own ends (e.g., by attributing it to Noah)? To a certain extent, of course, this question is unanswerable. But if we assume that there was no initial distinction between “Greek” and “Jewish” culture and the knowledge the author of Jubilees incorporated belonged rather to the global intellectual environment of the Hellenistic world, it becomes likely that Jubilees’ author acted just as was common of intellectuals in the Hellenistic period. He may have had

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78 In sociology, the term is most commonly associated with the name of Roland Robertson. See Robertson, *Globalization*; Robertson, “Glocalization,” 25-44. On its application in ancient history and Roman archaeology see Pitts and Versluys, “Globalisation”; also Whitmarsh, *Local Knowledge*. I have recently applied the term in the study of Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; see Hartog, *Peshet and Hypomnema*, 16-28; Hartog, “Contesting *Oikoumene*”; also Hartog and Jokiranta, “Hellenistic Context,” 352-54.

no intention to include specifically Greek knowledge in his work, but merely employed what was available to him. Hence, the author of Jubilees acted as an academic of his time, rather than as a Jewish scholar in Greek dress—or the other way around.

To speak of Jubilees as a “Hellenistic” work, therefore, is to acknowledge that the book fits well within the global intellectual culture as it developed in the Hellenistic period.<sup>79</sup> The Alexandrian Library and Museum were centres of this intellectual culture, but the interests, methods, and insights developed there soon spread across the Hellenistic (and later Roman) world. Encyclopaedism, or the ideal of completeness, was one of the ideals of Hellenistic scholarship that made an impact far beyond the borders of Alexandria. Yet these global intellectual tendencies were expressed in local contexts. This is visible, e.g., in Berossus’s and Manetho’s local histories. Like these authors (and others from the Hellenistic period), Jubilees combines a global, Hellenistic outlook with a decidedly local interest in the history and laws of the Jews.

#### 4 Conclusion

The book of Jubilees is a glocal composition and reflects the intricate interactions between global and local trends in the Hellenistic period. Its author was comfortably at home within the global intellectual culture of the Hellenistic world, as his presentation of the contents of his work reflects a concern for comprehensiveness similar to that encountered in other works of scholarship from this period. Yet Jubilees combines this global intellectual framework with a local message: the Jews and their laws are distinct from all other peoples, and the readers of Jubilees should remain faithful to the tradition they inherited and which goes back to the revelation Moses received on Mt. Sinai.

The rise of encyclopaedism in the Hellenistic and Roman eras is closely tied up with the emergence of a book world in these periods. Jubilees testifies to the increased importance of books and written traditions by closely aligning itself with the Pentateuch and claiming to have access to an antediluvian tradition going back to Enoch and having been faithfully transmitted in writing to Moses.

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79 This understanding of Jubilees’ “Hellenistic” character corresponds with the increasing unease of ancient historians and others with the terms “Hellenism” and “Hellenistic,” especially when these terms are associated with “Greek” culture. Space precludes a full treatment of the issue; for a helpful discussion see Ma, “Paradigms and Paradoxes”; also Hartog and Jokiranta, “Hellenistic Context.”

This intricate connection between encyclopaedism, book culture, and the intellectual culture of the Hellenistic world invites further consideration of Jewish sources and phenomena not commonly associated with Hellenistic or Roman culture. The book of 4 Ezra, for instance, reflects the general interest in books in the Roman world when Ezra is commissioned to hire five scribes to write down what the Lord tells them through Ezra (4 Ezra 14:22-48). This, to be sure, does not make 4 Ezra a quintessentially “Roman” book, but it does demonstrate that the book is at home within a Roman intellectual context. A similar thing may be said for the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls. Having recently been described as a scholarly book collection,<sup>80</sup> the Qumran scrolls present yet another instance of Jewish encyclopaedism in the late Hellenistic and early Roman era. It is worth pondering whether the collection was somehow implied to contain the whole of Jewish knowledge. This could offer a larger picture for the presumably intentional absence of certain works (such as Esther) from the Qumran collection. Moreover, the concept of encyclopaedism can open up new comparative perspectives, which invite a consideration of Greek and Roman book collections from the Hellenistic and Roman worlds in tandem with the Qumran collection.<sup>81</sup>

In short, this study shows that the local agenda of certain Jewish writings does not preclude their interaction with global intellectual trends in the Hellenistic (and Roman) worlds. There are good reasons to label Jubilees and similar works “Hellenistic”—if by that label we capture the intricate dynamics between global and local trends in such writings.<sup>82</sup>

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80 By Popović, “Scroll Storehouse.” For other assessments of the Qumran scrolls as a “scholarly” collection see Alexander, “Bible”; Alexander, “Literacy”; Hempel, “Haskalah.”

81 Comparative treatments of the Qumran collection and other book collections from the Hellenistic and Roman world are not new, even if much work remains to be done. See the stimulating contributions in White Crawford and Wassén, *Concept of a Library*; also Popović, “Reading.”

82 This article is based on presentations given at the CRASIS Annual Meeting (12 February, 2016) and the CRASIS Ancient World Seminar (17 September, 2018), both in Groningen. I am grateful to the participants in the CRASIS meetings and the 2016 Dirk Smilde Research Seminar for their feedback. I owe special thanks to Benjamin Wright, James Aitken, and Gert van Klinken, who generously commented on earlier versions of this article.

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